which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village.

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sānchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While *Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná com-*
[565] munities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 But let us consider yet another passage, written already
565 in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which
[104] in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane
[554] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior
[178] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay
[567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/66 cont./

plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

/136 cont./

*177 797 Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 797 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 *177 648 [721] [829] 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/ as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas, invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]